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ABSTRACT

The role of such affective variables as integrative motivation in successful adult second language learning is explored. It is argued that the myth of the melting pot is based on commitment to integration, and that integrative motivation is thus viewed as desirable in minority group members. Studies of affective variables in second language learning have proposed models that state that successful learners of English must have positive attitudes toward English speakers. These models are based on belief in the superiority of the integrative motive over an instrumental motive. The acculturation model for second language acquisition and seven studies linking attitudes to language learning are reviewed. These studies assume a casual link between acculturation and language learning success. In order to test this assumption, a language attitude questionnaire was administered to 84 foreign students at a U.S. university who were considered successful English learners, and in-depth interviews were conducted with nine of the students. Little evidence of an integrative orientation was found among these successful English learners. In conclusion, English as a second language teachers should recognize that their students may not have an integrative orientation toward American culture. (RW)

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THE ROLE OF INTEGRATIVE MOTIVATION IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG A GROUP OF FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

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Abstract

The role of affective variables in adult second language learning (SLL) has interested language specialists for a long time. Of particular note has been the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) in which motivation is thoroughly analyzed. What emerged from their work as a particularly strong predictor of successful SLL was integrative motivation. The contrasting orientation, instrumental motivation, was found to be less predictive of SLL success among their subjects, mostly high school students in Canada and the United States.

The contention here is that integrative motivation may not be the only orientation for successful SLL. Looking at 84 foreign students at a large university in the U.S., we found little evidence for an integrative orientation as it has been defined by Gardner and Lambert. In fact, a particularly anti-integrative orientation could be seen among a sub-set of these students who had at the time of this study resided in the U.S. for thirteen to eighteen months. It is noted that all 84 subjects were deemed "successful" with English.

It is important for ESL teachers in the setting of universities in the U.S. to be aware that their students may not feel integrative toward the American culture. What is presented in ESL classes, as well as ESL textbooks, should reflect this awareness and should recognize that students' needs for achieving their goals here do not necessarily include an integrative orientation toward the American mainstream culture.

I. Introduction

To understand the impact of integration and acculturation theories as part of language learning and teaching in the United States, one must also see the role of these themes in the larger context of the American culture. These concepts, in fact, do have significance in American history, particularly as part of education.

America, as "the melting pot," is an idea that has described a purpose in the world in the minds of many of her citizens. Composed of many ethnic groups, we seem to have acquired a vision of ourselves as all-accepting, all-willing to have anyone immigrate, seek refuge and become an American. But they are accepted on a number of conditions one of which is to integrate. Melting means integrating; and integrating means having positive attitudes toward the dominant group, mainstream Americans.

Evidence of this same point of view can be found in other cultures too. One thinks of the stereotypical Parisian who is most intolerant of the tourist or immigrant who struggles with a sentence in French and who fears what Shuy has called "the intrusion of new cultures on his own." But the American setting is quite different from all the others for a number of reasons, one of which is our stated commitment to America as a place for the tired, the poor, the huddled masses of the world. We think of ourselves as a melting pot and that self-image can be observed through our national history: our commitment to liberal immigration laws, our national motto, our Statue of Liberty, and our efforts at building bilingual education programs.

The myth of the melting pot is based upon a commitment to integrative motivation. If a newcomer shows evidence for this motivation, s/he will be accepted. And though this concept was observable in America long before it was defined and analyzed in the language literature, its place in English language classes for

foreign people has long been accepted.

The melting process includes, in part, becoming indistinguishable from others and this has meant identifying with some standard American English dialect user. The loss of the native language among many ethnic groups, and anglicization of surnames, are reflections of the efforts of many of these poeple to integrate - or melt - with the dominant American population. The "broken English" resulting from foreigners' efforts to use the new language has with it negative connotations and its speakers are often very ashamed of their heavy accents. Identification with Standard American English users becomes crucial and the native speaker/hearer has not only been the standard held for newcomers by Americans, but by the learners, themselves, in an effort to be accepted. This is not an effort to portray American immigrants as weak, mindless and dependent. It is an effort to show that no strength, no mind, nor sense of independence was encouraged in immigrants by the American society in its effort to integrate newcomers.

"Integration" was a rallying cry of the sixties and seventies. A memorable part of those who wrestled with adolescence through those years was an effort to integrate Blacks with Whites. And though this battle had long been fought - Blacks had been separated from Whites since the birth of this country - it was implicit, as part of this movement, that the improving of Black education, employment and other opportunities, meant that they must integrate with the dominant White culture. In fact, integration did not come easily for Blacks or for Whites, as anyone who lived through that period would agree. But in 1955, "the integration of American public schools," as it was referred to in the media, was legislated. In fact, many Blacks did want integration, but even among this group, reasons were not based upon a desire to become members of the White culture. What they did want was equal opportunity for employment and education opportunities for their children,

the lack of which was to be compensated for by means of racial integration, and later, by affirmative action programs.

If we look at the immigrants' experience - the demands placed on them to integrate - in order to be allowed in the melting pot, and at the demands placed upon Blacks to integrate - in order to obtain equal employment opportunity and equal education opportunities - we see certain similarities: minority groups are being asked to pay a price for becoming integrated into the American mainstream. That price is defined in the language literature, first by Gardner and Lambert; it is integrative motivation. And just as immigrants in the early years of this century learned quickly the need to integrate, Blacks too learned it; and foreign students in our universities have also, in many cases, been asked to acquire this motive as part of their ESL-learning experience here.

These two pieces of American culture and history may help explain the problem, which is the subject of this paper: the emergence in English as a second language of theories of language learning and the development of materials for students, based on a commitment to the supremacy of the integrative motive over an instrumental one.

An idea which may reflect this view has been in theoretical models posed by Schumann as well as in correlational studies done by Oller and others: one very important part of the integration and acculturation process has been the component of positive attitudes. According to these models, learners of English in the United States must show positive attitudes toward Americans in order to be considered successful at acculturation or integration and in turn, at learning English.

II. The Motivational Component

One reason why these theories have taken hold is that the value of a full understanding of motivational factors in second language learning was thoroughly analyzed. In 1972, Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert published their report of a 12-year study of high school students in Canada, parts of the U.S. and the Philippines, learning French and English. This careful and widely cited treatise has been of great interest to the language teaching field. The study was designed to investigate the roles of attitude and motivation in the learning of foreign languages, and what the analyses of these data showed was that motivation, and not verbal intelligence or foreign language aptitude, which had previously been thought to be most revealing, was the crucial variable in learning for these subjects. And a certain kind of motivation, integrative, emerged as the optimal orientation for particularly successful learning; integrative motivation is defined by Gardner and Lambert:

> the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that other group .... The learner must be prepared to adopt various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group. The learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitude toward the members of the other group are believed to determine how successful he will be in learning the new language. (p. 3)

The "other" motivation, which is less predictive of language learning success is called "instrumental" motivation. Gardner and Lambert define it:

> .... instrumental orientation toward the language learning task (is) one characterized by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language. The perspective in this instance is more self-oriented in the sense that a person prepares to learn a new code in order to derive benefits of a noninterpersonal sort. (pp. 14-15)

Thus, it has not been totally unreasonable that language teachers have expected that students who seem to be more integrative: more "open-minded," more concerned about being accepted, less ethnocentric and more positive about

speakers of the new language, should be better learners. On the other hand, learners who are more instrumental, want to gain social recognition and economic advantages, are more self-oriented, may be less successful in learning the new language.

Thus, attention has been paid in language teaching to learner motivation. Teachers have perhaps attempted to encourage learning through emphasis upon an integrative motive.

In addition to the pedagogical implications of this dichotomy of motivation in language learning, some theories, or models, have evolved which rely on the integrative motive and its value in language learning.

The Acculturation Model for Second Language Acquisition (Schumann, 1978) centers on learning in "the environment where it (the new language) is spoken and without instruction." (p. 27)

The Acculturation Model is based upon Schumann's concept of social distance: the more social distance, the less acculturation. Social distance is defined in this model: "the affective proximity of two cultures in contact, distance denotes dissimilarity between two cultures." (p. 26) Thus, in this model, the less acculturated a student is, the poorer the learning can be expected to be.

Factors contributing to acculturation will be briefly outlined here:

1) Political, cultural, technical or economic dominance: the best situation exists for maximized acculturation when the learner's sociocultural group is "roughly equal to that of the target language group." Social distance is minimized (and learning maximized) with minimal social dominance.

2) Integration pattern: "If the learner chooses to acculturate, then he wishes to adapt to the life style and values of the target language group." (p.136) Preservation, on the other hand, "is a strategy in which the second language learn-

group completely rejects the life style and values of the target language group and attempts to maintain its own cultural pattern as much as possible." (p. 137) Preservation is viewed as a delimiting factor in acculturation; preservation is anti-integration, and a deterrent to language learning success. To judge preservation as a negative factor in learning a new language may be somewhat over-simplified. It would seem that anyone learning a new language would feel a need to preserve his/her own culture. What must not be carried into practice from the model is this position which Schumann takes:

> Second language acquisition is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates to the target language group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language. (p. 34)

3) Enclosure: This is similar to the concept of integration, but enclosure refers to structural aspects of integration, and integration refers to the cultural aspects. "Enclosure involves factors such as endogamy, institutional separation, and associational clustering." (p. 137) The effect of enclosure upon acculturation is that it maintains social distance, thus minimizing language learning.

4) Cohesiveness: "If the second language learning group is cohesive, then its members will tend to remain separate from the target language-speaking group, producing social distance." (p. 137)

5) Size is the next element of social distance. Coupled with 4), these two factors tend to be particularly strong predictors of learning success or failure in this model. Large, cohesive groups tend to be stronger and in turn, more able to distance themselves from the new culture, thus increasing social distance, minimizing acculturation, and ultimately, providing for less likelihood for successful learning.

6) Congruence or similarity affects social distance. "If the two cultures are similar, then integration is facilitated and social distance reduced." (p. 137) How congruence is to be measured is not outlined by Schumann. It would seem that judging congruence would be impossible without introducing the cultural biases brought by the judge, himself.

7) Attitude This component of acculturation has probably received as much or more attention than the others. In fact, it overlaps with several other components. The attitude of the learner's group and the new language group toward each other and the expectations these attitudes produce will affect social distance. Positive attitudes have been considered necessary for maximum acculturation.

8) Length of residence Acculturation is more likely to occur "if the second language learning group intends to remain permanently." (p. 138)

In summary, Schumann's model which applies to language learning "in the environment where it is spoken and without instruction" does not address a large population of English learners. The model explicitly suggests that minimization of social distance leads to the most successful learning. Social distance is minimized and acculturation maximized with integrative motivation and integration can be predicted by positive attitudes toward native speakers of the language.

Gardner and Lambert point out: "learning a language is imposing another culture upon one's own lifespace." (p. 193) It seems that Schumann's model also adapts this definition of language learning.

III. Studies Linking Attitude to Language Learning

For the purposes of this report, six studies have been chosen since they provide a view of the attitude-language learning association for two different contexts: English learned by foreign students in the U.S. and English learned in India, Japan and in other parts of Asia. It will be noted of course that these

studies do not in fact show that English learners report consistently positive attitudes toward English speakers. Many learners do not seem to be integratively oriented. Few seem to have been highly acculturated. These findings are not surprising in that attitudes cannot always predict learning, and in fact, it has been inappropriate to expect them to do so. What is apparent is that positive attitudes are not only absent in many instances, but that the presence of particularly strong negative attitudes does not inhibit language learning. In addition, strongly instrumental motivation may be present; that is, among a majority of learners, there is little desire to become like an English speaker. Evidence from some of these studies will show that English is viewed as a communication tool separate from and without reference to any particular country's natives.

The first group of studies is of English learning among three different populations within the United States. Spolsky (1969) showed that "the greater the desire to be like speakers of English than like speakers of their own language was significantly correlated with their proficiency in English." (p. 271) Subjects were roughly 400 foreign students who had just arrived at various midwestern American universities to attend summer seminars or various degree programs. Using direct and indirect Likert measurement techniques, some borrowed from Gardner and Lambert's earlier work, determinations about students' motivation were made using correlational analyses between responses of the questionnaires and Spolsky's English proficiency test, a cloze procedure (Spolsky, 1968). Findings from the direct questionnaire were that 20% of the students could be considered integratively motivated; the remainder gave instrumental reasons for studying in the U.S. (p. 276). Spolsky points out that this finding, contrary to the large percentages of integratively oriented students found by Gardner and Lambert, is explained by noting

"since students in this study had only recently arrived in the U.S., they are reluctant to admit to motives which suggest they wish to leave their own country permanently." The indirect questionnaire reveals a third of the students to be integratively motivated; this, for Spolsky, is due to the fact that student inhibitions are less disguised using this indirect technique (p. 278).

There has been great controversy about the validity and reliability of direct measures of attitude (see Gardner, 1980; Upshur, et al., 1980); if we are to assume that these measures are providing insight about students' motivation, we are surprised to find at the most only a third of them to be integratively motivated; the remainder of the students, in fact, "instrumentalists," are predicted by the acculturation model to be something less than successful learners. Still, the correlations between integration and proficiency are high. Spolsky concludes that "a person learns a language better when he wants to be a member of the group speaking that language." (p. 281)

What comes into question, however, are the 260 or more students who have been discarded from this study having reported instrumental motives: "I'm here to get training to get a degree." In fact, two-thirds of this sample are here only for some training. My point is that this study in no way proves an unique association between integrative motivation and language success. It does show that most students report instrumental motivation, and if we believe the integrative self-reports, we must also believe those who claim instrumental motives. If they had been asked, this latter group of instrumentalists, perhaps would have defined their reference group as some individual or group outside of the American mainstream population. In this case, the positive attitude hypothesis might have been tested.

Oller, et al. (1977a) have carried out at least two published investigations in which they too attempt to associate positive attitudes toward Americans with learning English in the U.S. The first study was done at the

University of New Mexico and the University of Texas among 44 Chinese graduate students. Some of the same tests used by Spolsky were employed; correlations between attitudes toward Americans and language proficiency were unexpectedly low (p. 8). Again as in Spolsky's work, explanations for the reason for these low correlations are the unreliability of direct measures of self-reported data. But in general, these students too expressed instrumental motivation for learning English. In addition, these learners tended to rate American people higher on desirable traits and Chinese higher on undesirable traits (p. 11). And in fact, the more learners saw themselves to be like Americans, the better they did on the proficiency tests. Here students valued qualities associated with American people and this fact may indeed have helped their language proficiency. We can conclude then that positive attitudes toward a new culture may well be helpful in learning a new language when learning occurs within the environment where it is natively used. Still, we have not accounted for the success of the majority of these students who report instrumental motivation for English study. In their conclusion, Oller, et al., call for a re-definition of the integrative-instrumental dichotomy in language learning:

> ... integrative motivation could be redefined in reference to affective personal traits such as kindness, friendliness, sincerity, helpfulness and the like, while the term instrumental might be more usefully defined in relation to such cognitive and impersonal traits as intelligence, efficiency, material success, power, etc. (p. 20)

For this we are thankful to Oller, et al.; we have here a first admission that this integrative-instrumental dichotomy may be much less straight-forward: from their work, the following conclusion comes:

> There exists the possibility that Ss attitudes, particularly attitudes toward speakers of the target language, are changing rather markedly during the course of becoming proficient in the target language. (p. 21)

Based upon these students' reports, Oller, et al., found alternating types of motivation for second language learning. However, the matter of explaining the "integration target" of these learners remains unresolved.

If one takes the position held by Firth, and others, the context of the situation must be accounted for and will influence the motivation as well as the attitude of the learners. In fact these motivational variables, though central to the models tested in acculturation studies, are no more significant than any other individual difference. What is important is the context in which a given language situation occurs; motivation will influence the outcome of the situation but only inasmuch as the learner is motivated to perform the language function in question.

The third study to be reported upon here deals with the attitudes toward Americans of Job Corps employees, 60 Mexican-American women in New Mexico in a job training program with Blacks, Anglos, Spanish speakers and Native Americans (Oller, et al., 1977b). Tests used were again those originally used in Spolsky's study, and later modified for use by Oller (1977a). Findings were that the more proficient learners were in ESL, the more negatively they rated Americans (p. 180). This strongly anti-integrative motivation contrasts sharply with the Chinese study, in that the Chinese seem to feel particularly negative toward Americans, but simply had instrumental motivation toward the dominant U.S. culture, whereas the Job Corps workers expressed strongly negative attitudes toward Americans. This contrast is of particular interest because we see addressed in the Chinese study the possibility of a combination of positive attitudes and instrumental motivation toward the culture. It is no surprise to Oller, et al., (1977b) that these Mexican-

Americans should be both instrumental and negative:

> ... the Mexican Americans or Chicanos of the Southwest who still feel the oppressive weight of having been absorbed into a powerful political system in which they have traditionally had little power of choice. Moreover, they were members of a lower socioeconomic status in Mexico or the border towns which they consider home. It would appear that as the subjects in this study progress in ESL their resentments toward the Anglo majority become stronger. (p. 181)

But what is more difficult to explain is the Chinese populations positive attitudes and reported instrumental motivation. This observation as well as the inconsistencies reported in the papers cited, show that positive attitudes, as well as negative ones, may influence learning of a new language.

The Chinese students here report evidence for instrumental motivations, though not particularly strong ones, but positive attitudes toward American people. Other groups of foreign students at American universities have reported negative attitudes toward American people. Here the typical relationship between attitude and orientation - positive attitude + integrative motivation - or negative attitude + instrumental motivation breaks down. This could perhaps be accounted for by taking into account who it is that a learner desires or needs to integrate with. The assumption that this group or individual will be an American and represents Standard American English is wrong. Learners may wish to integrate with a speech community and English language variety unknown to the investigator. The Chinese study may reflect a need to investigate the object of learners' integrative motivation. This fact will become clearer as we now turn to studies done in India, Japan and other parts of Asia where English is learned for use in non-native English settings.

Lukmani (1972) investigated the attitudes of 60 Marathi-speaking high school girls in India. The most important reasons for English study for this group were 1) getting a good job; 2) coping with university classes; and 3) travelling abroad. All of these are instrumental reasons according to the Gardner and Lambert definition. In addition, instrumental motivation was significantly correlated with language learning success, based upon Spolsky's measure of proficiency. Attitudes toward Marathi-speaking Indians were found to be less positive than toward English - speaking Indians. (Students were not asked to evaluate Americans nor other native English speakers.) They as a group reject an integrative motivation characterized by "thinking and behaving like English-speaking Indians" because it implies a clear rejection of the norms of the Marathi society," a rejection which would be unacceptable to them. These students are motivated by a desire to acquire certain aspects of the English-speaking Indian community, and at the same time, to retain their own Marathi-speaking identity. Integration with an American, British, or other native English-speaking group is not desired; rather, they wish to learn English in order to use it; they do not wish to be identified with English speakers. English is perhaps a link for them with a modern lifestyle. Marathi represents their identity, something which they do not wish to lose in the process of learning English.

In a study of Japanese speakers learning English in Japan (Chihara, Oller, 1978), the effect of attitude on English proficiency was analyzed. In this study, learners were asked to evaluate native English speakers, as well as their fellow countrymen. Attitude was evaluated using the Likert type questionnaire used by Spolsky (1969), as well as Oller, et al. (1977a, 1977b); the same cloze procedure was used as a measure of proficiency. The only change made for the present study

was to translate the attitude scale into Japanese. Subjects were 123 Japanese adults enrolled in YMCA English classes. Though these students reported "to get to know many different kinds of people" as their primary motive for English study, an integrative motive for Gardner and Lambert, the relationship between this integrative orientation and English proficiency was quite weak (r = .19). Chihara and Oller explain this disturbing lack of a relationship between attitude and language success:

> Perhaps the contrasts in patterns of relationships for the Japanese subjects in this study and the Chinese subjects in that one (Oller, et al., 1977b) can be explained by appeal to the differences between a foreign language context and a second language context. (p. 67)

Whether a student is learning a second language in the country where it is natively spoken or not will indeed affect how the speakers of that language influence him/her or the learning that goes on. How that influence works is unclear. But to assume that the relationship between success and attitude will be stronger in the context where the language is spoken is not obvious from the present study. What we do have, which is of interest, are reports of integrative motivation to learn English and no significantly positive or negative feelings toward Americans. We wonder, since subjects were not asked, whether the assumption that Americans represent the object of their integration orientation or not, may be wrong. Having reviewed Lukmani's study, as well as her findings, it may be reasonable to say that these Japanese students, studying English in Japan, have little or no basis upon which to relate any attitudes toward native speakers of English. Perhaps their integrative motives are directed toward some native Japanese group, perhaps some Japanese English users. Of course, such a speculation

is not necessarily an explanation for the low correlations found; but assumptions about who the object of integration is for a language learner come into question as a result of the findings of this study.

Finally, we shall discuss Shaw's study of the attitudes of Asian students toward English (in Smith, 1981). Though not a correlational study, as were those previously discussed, the present research simply assigns percentages of the total population of students in Singapore, India and Thailand who chose a particular response to questions regarding reasons for English study; the quantity of time during which and conditions for which English is used by them; the subject's ranking of which of the four basic skills s/he does best or worst; agreement/disagreement with statements regarding feelings toward English. We shall look at selected aspects of this study; first, these students' reasons for studying English were also largely instrumental: Singapore: to get a good job in their country; Indians: to talk to people in my own country whose language is unknown to me; and the Thais: to speak to native and non-native speakers for business/educational reasons and for general work purposes. The need to acquire English for use rather than as a means by which to identify with or integrate with its native speakers is confirmed by responses to other questions; for example, reading textbooks printed in English was more important than reading English literature; writing business letters is more important than writing personal letters. It is pointed out that these questions are geared toward discovering students' attitudes toward the English language, and not toward the native speaker of English. But as Shaw points out, "an affinity for them (English speakers) was not a reason for their (the students') study of English." (p. 112) Here there is no evidence that the language is necessarily associated with English speaking countries; in fact, these reports of

instrumentality, without reference to English native speakers, begins to reflect an awareness by learners that perhaps languages can be (and are being) learned well without reference to or need to integrate with or acculturate with native speakers.

In summary, we have looked at the role of integrative motivation, used by Schumann in his model of second language acquisition, in some selected articles in the second language literature. What we have seen is evidence that there is assumed to be a causal link between acculturation and language learning success as Schumann explicitly states:

> Second language acquisition is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates to the target language group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language. (p. 34)

The extent to which this hypothesis is true has been tested by some of the studies outlined herein.

III. The Study

Because the role of attitude seems to be so crucial to the type of motivation which a student is thought to have, we decided to look at the attitudes of a representative sample of foreign students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. There were 84 students who were all "successful" in English. By "successful," we mean that they had all received the minimum TOEFL score which is required by a variety of departments at the University. They were all enrolled in ESL classes in addition to their regular academic major course; these ESL classes meet three hours per week and are taught by several graduate student teaching assistants. There were several native languages represented in this group: 25 Chinese, 19 Korean, 7 Japanese, 10 Spanish; the rest were made up of small numbers of Swahili, Lingala, French, Indonesian, Portuguese,

Thai, Phillipino, Gujrati, Arabic, Igbo, Vietnamese, Polish, Biwi, Icelandic and Urdu. Most were undergraduates, several were graduate students; there were two post-doctorals, and among the Koreans many were permanent residents.

The first data collection tool was the Professed Difference in Attitude Questionnaire (PDAQ), an indirect attitude measure originally used by William Acton (1979). A sample of a PDAQ item appears in Figure 1. The PDAQ is a variation on the semantic differential and contains only evaluative adjective pairs, an approach which has been validated by Osgood and others. It is noted that the PDAQ is a substantial variation upon Osgood's original semantic differentials, in that the PDAQ utilizes only two pairs of adjectives for each of twenty concepts and Osgood uses several, often twenty.

In addition, it is noted that we felt that subjects in this study may not have responded to the questionnaire in a uniform way. Although the instructions explicitly inform students that they should answer spontaneously, and these instructions were emphasized, it was difficult for them to follow these instructions. Many students tended to pore over each response and in so doing, the PDAQ took much longer than we had originally hoped. In addition, in some cases the PDAQ was administered in the students' native languages, as well as in English, and since no significant differences emerged between native language PDAQ and English PDAQ responses, and since time constraints precluded our obtaining native language PDAQ data on all subjects, these data are not presented.

Tables I and II show two representations of students' perceived social distance between their native cultures and the American culture.

Though the pattern is less pronounced for those students professing to be closer to their native people, the social distance which these students perceive between themselves and Americans is of particular interest. There is a marked

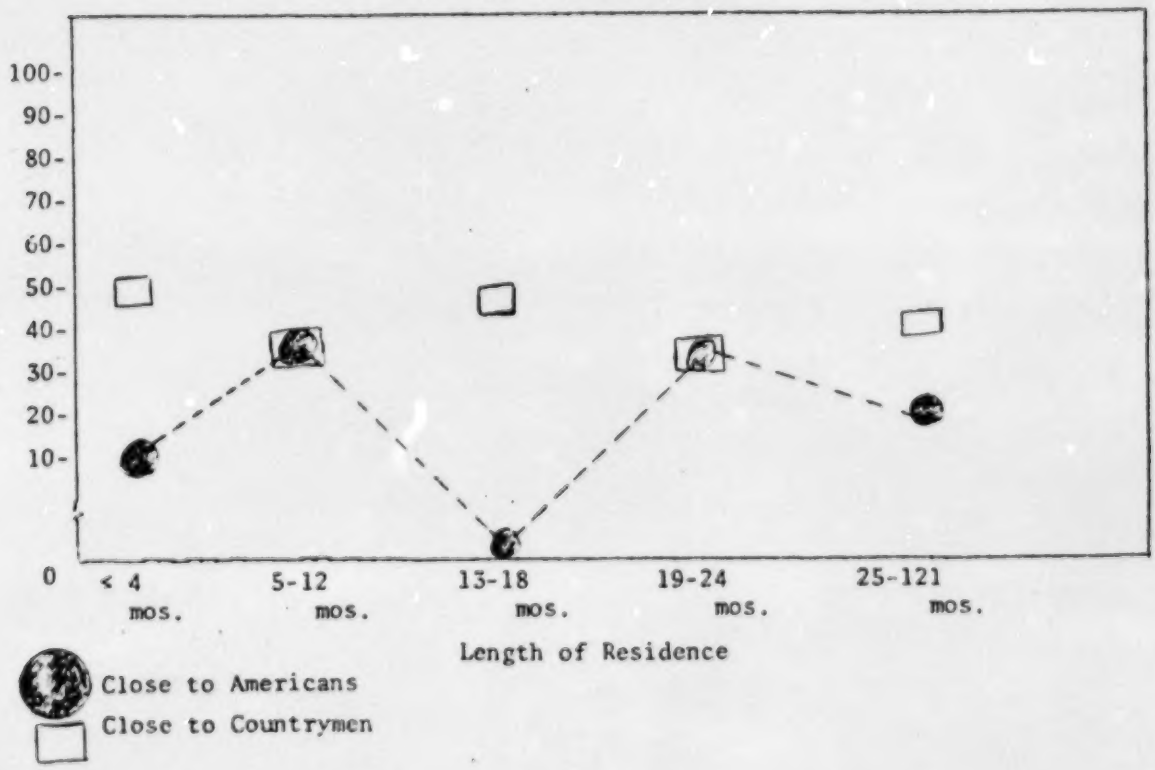
TABLE I

Residence Length and Perceived Social Distance

Length of Residence	Numbers perceiving themselves to be:		
	Close to Countrymen	Close to Americans	Equi-Distant
< 4 months n = 10	5	1	4
5-12 months n = 33	10	11	12
13-18 months n = 9	4	0	5
19-24 months n = 6	2	2	2
25-121 months n = 26	11	6	9
Totals	32	20	32

TABLE II

Percentages of Students with Perceived Social Distance Close to Americans and Close to Countrymen



pattern over time, as indicated in Table II. The percentage of students professing closeness to Americans increases and decreases in a particular way. That is, it appears that over time, something seems to happen which influences students' attitudes toward their countrymen as well as toward Americans. What it is that causes this somewhat regular fluctuation is not clear--neither in the literature (since few studies have dealt with such a broad range of length of residence), nor in the present study. Nonetheless, the group which gives this graph its striking configuration is those students residing in the United States 13-18 months, since none of them have professed to feeling close to the American culture.

To fully know what all 84 of these students think about the U.S., their own countrymen, and where they perceive themselves to be, between these two groups, we cannot rely totally on one measure. Attitude is a multidimensional phenomenon and cannot be measured in only one way. Based upon what is clear from Schumann's and Acton's findings, we must obtain indepth, direct (measures where subjects respond to direct questions about their attitudes, e.g., the interview) and indirect (the purpose of the responses is not apparent to the subject, e.g., the PDAQ) measures which are necessary for shedding light on the role of attitude in language learning. Some measure of language proficiency must also be used. These students have been deemed "proficient in English" at some point in the past based on the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) for nearly all 84 subjects. Though there are problems with TOEFL, it is widely accepted as a measure of proficiency, and all students in this study have TOEFL scores of 490 or higher. Also, problems of correlating proficiency with attitude have been outlined by Rhyme, 1980, who suggests that a better method is to correlate progress with attitude.

In addition, some insights about these students' motives for learning English, their level of self-esteem, empathy, outgoing qualities, attitudes toward teachers of English, and a variety of other pieces of the attitude puzzle would be needed to thoroughly analyze the relationship between individual students' attitudes and their English learning.

IV. Interviews

Among the student respondents in the U.S. from 13 to 18 months, PDAQ scores for all nine of them revealed a similar configuration: none of these students felt close to Americans; all felt either equidistant between their native and the American cultures or closer to their own. It was felt that this fact was significant and that a direct measure of attitude, an interview, combined with the indirect PDAQ measure, as well as teachers' interviews, would provide additional insight about these students' attitudes. All nine are in ESL classes at the University of Illinois, concomitant with study in their field of concentration. The courses carry 3 hours of undergraduate credit. Teachers for these courses are all graduate students in the MATESL program or in various Linguistics and Education doctoral programs. The next section will provide information about the contents of those interviews. What can be seen among these nine students are three general perceptions which oppose the integrative, acculturative explanations for language success offered by Schumann in the acculturation model of second language acquisition. These three generalizations which contributed to a breakdown in the intuitively appealing attitude-motivation-language learning success association previously mentioned are: 1) Students make efforts to build into their daily lives some way to feel close to their native cultures by pretending in many cases to be in their own countries. 2) Students had a knowledge of being distant from Americans. 3) There was a real sense among this group, particularly clarified

by the interviews, of a lack of a desire to integrate with a dominant American society.

We will look at these interviews now and try to describe how these students were particularly helpful in describing their own language- and culture-learning experiences.

The first generalization that I have made is that students have made efforts to extract themselves from the American culture. But what is so profound about this effort is that it seems to be conscious and routine. One student even called it "a coping strategy," that he uses to survive here: either alone or with some friends, this man spends time "pretending I'm in Taiwan. We discuss our families, the mail from home, or news about Taiwan. We share childhood memories and experiences. We discuss nothing which has to do with ou lives in the U.S." They never complain about American ways of life during these times; they discuss pleasant, personal and purely Taiwan-related subjects. The teacher said that this student always sits with the other Chinese students in the class; also, he volunteered to help a third Chinese student who was struggling with the material. The teacher feels that he is very confident and prefers a "more dignified" teaching style to a less formal one.

Another student reports feelings of superiority over other foreign students as well as Americans because of his "Frenchness"; he is not French, but Vietnamese--but he likes to think of himself as a Frenchman.

A Venezuelan woman feels that she must retain Venezuelan culture among her children: "I raise my children in the Venezuelan way and I never will speak English with them--I'm sorry."

A Chinese post-doctoral fellow says he doesn't know any Americans at all--in the lab he almost never interacts with anyone; and in the library, he studies best on his own. He says he doesn't talk to anyone except his Chinese friends;

he reads Chinese newspapers and socializes only with mainland Chinese--when they eat only Chinese food.

The second point that became clear from these interviews was a knowledge of being distant from Americans. Sometimes this fact was by choice; other times, I was left with the feeling that they didn't really like the distance, but accepted it anyway.

The Vietnamese student--who came to the U.S. because of our universities and medical schools--doesn't have too many American acquaintances or friends; in fact, his teacher speculated that he probably shuns them. And a Thai student says he feels distant from Americans because he doesn't know any. The Colombian states that he is not close to any American classmates, though he likes them OK.

The teachers of two other students expressed a feeling that their students seemed distant from American culture: the sense was that these two students simply did not know very much about it and were not uncomfortable with their lack of knowledge. And the mainland Chinese post-doc, already described, expressed intentional, active efforts to keep away from Americans. There seemed to be a real sense of distrust for things American from another student in his effort to maintain anonymity and nonchalance in the interview.

The third generalization which seemed to surface in these interviews was a lack of a desire, on the part of many of these students, to integrate with a dominant American society. Some examples already cited describe these students' efforts to retain and preserve their native cultures: Raising children in the Venezuelan way; being proud of one's "French-ness" (even if you're not French!) to the point of considering it superior to American culture (though he values the universities and medical schools here); not finding time to make American acquaintances and friends; unwillingness to share

information about one's own culture or perceptions about language learning, but agreeing to the interview--fully knowing why it was being carried out; hardly knowing her American roommate, in another case; working in the lab or the library and socializing only with friends from one's own country. All of these reports suggest that these students are experiencing, at least at this point in time, a real need to express their native identity in a conscious and systematically routine way.

V. Conclusions

These interviews were very useful to an understanding of the nature of the experiences which these nine students are having during their stays in the U.S. Though time prevents our exploring in more detail these students' biographies, their experiences with English before coming to the U.S. or their awareness of how they have changed as a result of coming here, in terms of their own growth as well as their attitudes toward American people and our culture, they were, in general, very enthusiastic and willing to answer all of our questions and to share their experiences. In fact, many expressed that they felt grateful for a chance to just talk about some of these issues. Some of the interviews went on for nearly two hours.

I have attempted to briefly outline some of the information which came from these interviews in an effort to show that positive attitudes and an integrative orientation or feeling of wanting to be close to native speakers of English may not always be present in successful English learners. One could say, in fact, that among the nine people interviewed, none felt strongly nor consistently positive toward American culture. Some barely knew an American at all.

Some generalizations can be made, however, from the interviews. They were mentioned before and will be repeated here:

1) These students make efforts to build into their daily lives some activity or practice which makes them feel close to their native countrymen. Sometimes this behavior seems to resemble pretending to be in their native countries.
2) These students have a knowledge of being distant from Americans.
3) There is a lack of a desire to integrate with a dominant American society.

These generalizations should in no way be taken as absolute truths to be applied to all ESL students under all circumstances. These students represent a portion of the population of foreign students at the University of Illinois at one point in time. They are also, in many ways, representative of that population because they are from several different parts of the world, from a variety of cultures, language backgrounds and they have had varying experiences with American life.

The findings on the PDAQ, an indirect measure of attitude, can be seen to be confirmed by the interviews, and this fact provides some confirmation of the validity of an indirect measure of attitude. More thorough investigation of the confirmatory value of indirect measures of attitude toward one's own culture and the new one is needed.

In addition, these findings--both from the interviews and PDAQ analysis--suggest that the long-held notion, that integrative orientation toward Americans as necessary as part of successful English language learning cannot be assumed. in the U.S. among all university-level students. This study in no way confirms that any other orientation will yield successful results in language learning either. In fact, we have very little evidence of the specific attitudes which

these students have toward Americans. We know that they report on PDAQ that they do not feel close to Americans--they seem to feel either close to their countrymen or equally distant from both cultures. This may suggest that they do not feel integratively oriented toward Americans. The interviews were carried out in order to see if that seemed to be the case; and the group of students who had resided in the U.S. 13 to 18 months do seem to express this sense of distance from American culture.

What has happened, at least in the theoretical, if not the empirical, arenas, is that efforts to confirm our hunches about the positive attitude-integrative motivation-language success association have been unsuccessful. The motivations of our students, as well as their attitudes toward Americans, are not always clear-cut; we cannot necessarily assume that our students want to become a part of the dominant American culture, as suggested by this association. Nor must we assume that the degree to which they do acculturate, or as likely, do not acculturate, will determine the degree to which they succeed with English. Adaptation of such a theory of language learning is not only an oversimplification of the issue; it is dangerous to the potentially successful outcome students have as they struggle to adapt to a new country--and to learn its language. The findings of the present study shed some light on this issue.

Figure 1
(SAMPLE PDAQ ITEM)

AUTOMOBILE

	S	___:___:___:___:___:___	
necessary	C	___:___:___:___:___:___	unnecessary
	A	___:___:___:___:___:___	
	S	___:___:___:___:___:___	
bad	C	___:___:___:___:___:___	good
	A	___:___:___:___:___:___	

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